SOUTH VIET NAM In Struggle

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CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION

editorial

First priorities first

THREE months have elapsed since the signing of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam. The last GI has gone home. This historic event was a great achievement of the Vietnamese people as well as of all progressive mankind.

Nevertheless, the situation in South Viet Nam still remains very serious and many burning problems are pending. The Saigon army are pushing up their killings of civilians with American bombs and shells, the blobd of our fellow-countrymen continues to shed : peace is still precarious. Hundreds of thousands of patriots are still detained and brutalized in the horrible prisons of the Saigon regime. There is not a shred of democracy in the areas held by the Saigon administration.

The US is going with its brazen reconnaissance flights over the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, bombings of many localities in Laos and escalation of the devastating war in Cambodia...

What is at the bottom of such a situation ?

Who is responsible for it ?

The repeated statements made by American rulers, from President Nixon to his lieutenants, and the diplomatic notes recently sent by the US to the member countries of the International Conference on Viet Nam, have laid the blame on the DRVN and the PRG of the RSVN for "inexcusable violation" of the Paris Agreement. This familiar "thief crying thief" farce of the US, is being reacted and is expanding into a real campaign. But it can neither make white black nor hoodwink public opinion.

The Paris Agreement has taken note of the attainment of the objectives of our protracted struggle. The January 28, 1973 Appeal of the NFL Central Committee and the PRG of the RSVN pointed that "this major success was the outcome of 18 years' stubborn struggle full of incredible hardships and difficulties of a whole nation of heroes, of our armed forces and people..." It is to be borne in mind that the RSVN PRG and the DRVN Government tirelessly strove for the conclusion of the Paris Agreement which they have proved to be the only parties to respect and strictly implement.

On the other hand, the US has left no stone unturned not to honour its commitments ; it even brought formidable pressure to bear on us and to delay the signing of the Paris Agreement ; and once this Agreement was signed, it and the Saigon administration have been seriously and systematically breaking the accord.

The US and Saigon authorities have been acting with deliberation. On March 2, 1973 Nixon made it clear that the cease-fire could not be implemented by an agreement. To achieve this design, Nguyen Van Thieu launched a "land-grabbing" campaign. In the area under his control, under the "anti-communist" label, he has issued to his police force "ten directives" for victimizing members of the PRG and the advocates of peace, independence, democracy and national concord. Among these are orders to "shoot at the communists when they enter the towns", to "disband political gatherings" and to "quell all pro-communist demonstrations." The most ruthless "pacification" program to impound the population in horrible concentration camps is to be carried on...

These wilful acts of sabotage are parts of the US plot to pursue the "Nixon doctrine," to use the Saigon administration as a tool to implant neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam and to keep Viet Nam permanently partitioned.

THE Vietnamese people have deeply at heart peace, independence, democracy and national concord. They are always eager to fully implement and expect the same from the other sides. This is once again apparent in the 6-point proposal made on April 23, 1973 by the PRG at the South Viet Nam Two-Party Consultative Conference. Conforming to sense and sentiment, it also meets the requirements of the present juncture in South Viet Nam and the cherished aspirations of the Vietnamese people and is true to the spirit and letter of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam.

The first priority is "to cease all hostilities, to abide by all the stipulations on a stable cease-fire order without limit of time, with a view to lasting peace in Viet Nam." *How can we talk of implementing the other provisions when the Saigon troops continue to mount inroads and to kill people with American hardware, when the fighting is still on, and the people's life is completely upset ? Another most urgent and essential* question is the return of all Vietnamese civilian personnel arrested and detained in South Viet Nam. *The 90-day deadline is long past, yet hundreds of thousands of patriots and peace fighters are still detained in "tiger cages" of the Saigon prisons, and their lives are seriously endangered. The release of the detainees, including members of the PRG and middle-of-the-road elements, is indispensable for the realization of national concord and the act of recognition of the existence of the three political forces in South Viet Nam.* "Immediate and full enforcement of all democratic freedoms in South Viet Nam" *is a fond wish of the South Vietnamese people ; it is a stipulation of the Paris Agreement which calls for immediate application by both sides in the South after its signing. But up to now, in the areas held by the Saigon administration, all democratic liberties, even the most elementary rights such as freedom of residence, freedom of movement, freedom of work have been ruthlessly suppressed.*

Due to the utterly fascistic behaviour of the Saigon regime, the people's lives and property are in grave jeopardy and the advocates of peace and national concord are falling victims to savage repression. Vietnamese residents and those who for political reasons have sought asylum abroad cannot yet return to the Fatherland to visit their families and take part in the reconstruction of the country, etc... It is necessary to settle these pressing problems before the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord of three equal segments can be formed.

They must be resolved first and at once. They are fundamental problems and cannot be regarded as secondary ones. Only by satisfactorily solving them can basic conditions be created for the South Vietnamese people to shape their political destiny through genuinely free and democratic elections under international supervision." *The PRG of the RSVN holds that "free and democratic elections in South Viet Nam should be organized the sooner the better." To this end, it is necessary to stabilize the situation and ensure all the democratic liberties of the people. To hold the elections short of these would be tantamount to compelling the inhabitants to go to the polls under US-Thieu bombings and at the points of the bayonets and guns of Saigon armed police, as during the rigged election of Nguyen Van Thieu last year.*

The PRG 6 points have met with a totally negative response from the Saigon administration ; the latter has countered with its "draft accord" which is in essence an amendment of Chapter IV of the Paris Agreement on the "Exercise of the South Vietnamese people's self-determination right" and an attempt to evade the most urgent issues. It pretends to advocate an "early election" but in fact it is delaying it by wrecking the necessary conditions for a genuinely free and democratic election and refusing to end the hostilities, to hand over the civilian personnel it is holding and to guarantee all the people's democratic liberties including the right to freely voice their opinion and choose their own representatives.

IN its "draft accord" the Saigon administration regards the problem of armymen non-native of the South (i.e. the Northern armymen) as a primary issue. As every one knows, during the four years of negotiations at the Paris Conference on Viet Nam, the Northern armymen issue raised by the US side proved a great impediment to the Conference. Parallel to their slanderous charge, the Americans made use of their B.52 bombers as a blackmailing force, yet the "Northern army" question was struck out of the Paris Agreement. Now it is utopian on the part of the Saigon administration to take it up again as a pre-requisite for the settlement of the South Viet Nam problem, because it is juridically and morally irrelevant.

It is clear that the "draft accord" of the Saigon administration is but a move to dodge the discussion of key problems, whereas the PRG 6 points are the right path to a settlement. It fully meets the aspirations of all sections of the South Vietnamese people and has been heartily welcomed by progressives all over the world.

If the US and Saigon administration continue to obdurately challenge the Paris Agreement, with absurd proposals, shirk the most urgent problems, and make the bipartite consultative conference mark time, they will be entirely responsible for all consequences arising therefrom. The Vietnamese people are full of good will but they are never to be cowed. The obstinacy, rashness, slanders and threats of the US have all pitifully petered out in Viet Nam ; now if it refuses to see the writing on the wall, it will only court more ignominious failure.

SOUTH VIET NAM In Struggle

The ensurance of democratic liberties

IN Minister Nguyen Van Hieu's 6 points put forth at the Celle Saint Cloud Consultative Conference, point 3 deals with the immediate and full ensurance of the South Vietnamese people's democratic liberties, after the complete cessation of all hostilities and immediate return of all Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and held in South Viet Nam. Those three steps and formation of the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord are four pressing ones whose immediate and total implementation will provide the basis for the settlement of points 5 and 6, i.e. the general election and Vietnamese armed forces in South Viet Nam issues.

The ensurance of democratic liberties explicitly stipulated in Article 11 of the Paris Agreement is a fond wish and imperative requirement of the people in the Saigon-controlled areas.

All the administrations who have ruled in Saigon have been in fact fascist governments. The Ngo Dinh Diem won sinister fame with its military campaigns said to be "anti-communist" which actually hit at all the former resistants and patriots and peace advocates, and law 10-59 which made liable to capital punishment any sabotage attempt by all "communists" and the like. Its roving guillotine was seen all over the country.

At the beginning the Thieu regime wore a democratic face which did not stand the test of time. Rand Corporation researcher Daniel Ellsberg testified on May 13, 1970 to the US Foreign Affairs Commission that the Vietnamese dubbed the Thieu rule "a Diem rule without Diem."

It was at the outset of the Vietnamization of the war. This application of the Nixon doctrine in South Viet Nam called for a radically anti-democratic native regime and a "strong man," and has triggered a process of increasingly fierce fascisation of the Saigon administration and consolidation of Thieu's personal dictatorship.

The Saigon democracy fig-leaf was torn off completely and Thieu was re-elected through a farcical election where he was the only runner. With full powers conferred by a law rammed through the Lower House with bribes and through the Upper House with deception and violence, he governed by decrees-laws until the end of 1972 and ended by abolishing what remained as freedom in his zone.

At the eve of the initialling of the Paris Agreement, an order for mass-assassination was issued which contained the ten following measures to be taken after the cease-fire, by the Saigon armed forces and police:

1. Shoot at sight every one inciting the population to demonstrate, causing trouble or encouraging others to follow the "communists";

2. Arrest all those who make propaganda for the "communists," distribute leaflets, paste up posters or hoist "communist" flags;

3. Arrest at once all those who interfere with the police maintaining law and order;

4. Shoot at once on the spot all military, civil servants or policemen who desert or incite others to desert;

5. Arrest all individuals who assault passers-by in the streets or in private houses. They are to be shot at if they take to flight;

6. Arrest those who incite the people to cause trouble, to join the communist-controlled areas or reversely. If they resist, they are to be shot;

7. Punish severely those who circulate "communist" bank-notes. All those guilty of stocking goods in order to foment economic disturbances are liable to the Court Martial and death sentence;

8. Arrest all partisans of neutrality and all those who are openly pro-communist or militate for the communists. They are to face the Court Martial at the shortest delay;

9. Enforce urgently and thoroughly the decrees-laws on the press and political parties, with a view to preventing politicians' unlawful actions;

10. Arrest all militants of groups and organizations which work clandestinely or follow the communists like the Front of Alliance of Messrs Trinh Dinh Thao, Lam Van Tet and Professor Le Van Hao in Hue. If the said persons return to the cities, they will be immediately brought to the Court Martial for trial.

You have to see this communiqué in the pro-government *Tin Sang* of January 22, 1973 to believe it.

The same day, government-controlled *Radio Saigon* clamoured for the extermination of all communists. The previous day, Mr Nguyen Luu Vien, deputy prime minister of the Saigon government had made clear the necessity to liquidate once for all the "communist grass-roots organizations" and Thieu himself had ordered the police and "people's self-defence" to stand by.

Strange preparations for welcoming peace and achieving national reconciliation and concord! The Saigon regime's anti-communism has always been a smokescreen for US neo-colonialism and the official phrase *Viet Cong* in fact involves all patriots and peace partisans, Marxist-Leninists or simply nationalists.

On January 23, 1973, at the signing ceremomy of the Paris Agreement, the Saigon rule was represented by its Foreign Minister Tran Van Lam, a co-signatory to the quadripartite instrument. This did not preclude *Tin Sang* from printing two days later a government decision dated January 25, 1973 ordering the Saigon police to shoot all "communists" trying to infliltrate the towns and *Radio Saigon* from insistingly reminding the public on January 26, 1973 that all contacts under any form with "communists" would be liable to capital punishment or hard labour.

At the Celle Saint Cloud Consultative Conference, the head of the Saigon delegation, the already mentioned Mr Nguyen Luu Vien, euphemistically referred to "limitations" on democratic liberties because of the war. They are in fact stepped-up fascist measures aimed at thwarting the achievement of a peace already signed.

Actually, the cease-fire has never been enforced by the Saigon troops: until the end of the 90 day-period, the Thieu regime had only returned to the PRG an unsignificant number of civilian Vietnamese personnel in its custody. Police operations had been multiplied to pacify at all costs the Saigon-occupied zone. New mass arrests had overcrowded the Saigon thousand and one jails already packed with inmates.

It was to bring to an end such a revolting situation that the PRG delegation to the Celle Saint Cloud talks offered its 6-point solution. As one of the essential provisions of the Paris Agreement, the ensurance of democratic liberties must consist of a series of concrete steps under point 3 of Mr Hieu's plan:

Removal of all forms of duress, cessation of all acts of terror, oppression, purge, prejudice to the life and property of the people; ensurance for the South Vietnamese people of the freedom of residence, freedom to work and live, freedom of movement from one place to another or from one zone to the other for the purposes of trading, tending familial houses, gardens or fields, visiting relatives or family graves. Freedom for overseas Vietnamese and all those who have taken up residence or sought asylum abroad for political reasons to return to South Viet Nam to visit their relatives and do their bits in the reconstruction of their native village and country. Freedom for all those of various political convictions and religious creeds who do not side either with the PRG or with the Saigon regime to be politically active in both zones without any discrimination. Ensurance of the freedom of the press, cancellation of all forms of censorship and restriction on the freedom of the press. Freedom for newspapers and magazines of all tendencies to be circulated in both zones of South Viet Nam.

THE democratic liberties listed in Article 11 of the Paris Agreement comprise among others freedom of orgnization, freedom of political activities, freedom of work, right to property ownership and right to free enterprise.

The regime the Paris Agreement has in mind for South Viet Nam is a broad-based democracy, the only one which can meet the South Vietnamese people's desire for national reconciliation and concord after 28 years of war and foreign occupation.

Refusal to achieve such a social order on the part of the Saigon regime betrays its apparent intention not to abide by the Paris Agreement and to persist in the pursuance of the Nixon Vietnamization of the war.

XUAN KHANH

DRVN FOREIGN MINISTRY SENDS NOTE TO PARTICIPANTS IN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON VIET NAM

IN furtherance of Article 6 of the Act of the International Conference on Viet Nam, on May 4, 1973 the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam forwarded its Statement of April 27, 1973 concerning "the very serious and systematic violation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam by the government of the United States and the Saigon administration" to the Foreign Ministries of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the Soviet Union, China, Poland, Hungary, the United States, Britain, France, Canada and Indonesia, and at the same time to the Secretary General of the United Nations to inform them of the situation of the implementation of the Paris Agreement in the past ninety days.

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam particularly drew the attention of the above-mentioned governments to the present serious situation in South Viet Nam arising from the very serious and systematic violation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam by the government of the United States and the Saigon administration. The Foreign Ministry of the DRVN also drew the attention of the above-mentioned governments to the campaign of slanders and intimidation which the United States has been conducting against the DRVN in an attempt to cover its extremely brazen acts of violation, appease the indignation of public opinion in the world and in the United States at the war escalation of the United States in Cambodia and its intensified military involvement in Indochina.

The Foreign Ministry of the DRVN proposed that the Governments of the Soviet Union, China, Poland, Hungary, Britain, France, Canada and Indonesia resolutely condemn these very serious and systematic acts of violation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam by the government of the United States and the Saigon administration and urge them to end immediately these acts, strictly respect and scrupulously implement all provisions of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and the Act of the International Conference on Viet Nam.

In its note sent to the State Department of the United States enclosed with its Statement of April 27, 1973, the Foreign Ministry of the DRVN firmly demanded that the United States government and the Saigon administration end immediately their acts of violation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, strictly respect and scrupulously implement all provisions of this Agreement as well as of the Act of the International Conference on Viet Nam.

In the liberated areas

A scene of the An Loi market place

A visit to market places

AT 6 a.m. on April 14, 1973, a convoy of liberation army lorries with red-and-blue plates stopped at the entrance of Dong Ha bridge. Quang looked at the other side of the river, in the direction of Dong Ha market, then patted my shoulder and said : "Let's have a look at that market, before continuing our way to Lao Bao." His suggestion was okayed by our whole group including the drivers. All of us got off and went on foot to the place.

As it was still too early, there was not a big crowd there, motor boats coming from Gio Hai and Cua Viet were passing underneath the bridge to unload their cargos of fish and crabs for sale. Long files of young women from the side of Ai Tu were toting in all kinds of vegetables, and green pepper. Inside the market, neatly arranged stalls were selling clothing and sundries to a thickening mass of customers. The Saigon currency was for the time being accepted by the local revolutionary power.

I was examining some big-sized, strange sea-fish when Quang came and said to me that we should at this hour — as advised by the local comrades — visit the An Loi market on the other bank, where much more interesting things could be seen. Hardly had I time to give a reply when my colleagues pulled me onboard a motor-boat which took all of us towards Cua Viet on the Hieu river.

An Loi market was packed with people. It somehow looked like the Long Tien or Cai Lay market in My Tho province, and the Hieu river reminded me of My Tho's Ba Rai river. Located in a region with a big Catholic population, the An Loi market could boast even a workshop for the repair of small sized motors. It belonged to a private owner and was next to a primary school on the river's bank. All our group's members could see for themselves that the local revolutionary people had done a great deal to improve the people's living conditions, especially when one consider the well-known immense devastation inflicted on Quang Tri by the US-Saigon ground and air forces.

VAN THAN

Quang Tri, one year later

The first anniversary of Quang Tri's liberation, which coincided with Labour day, was jubilantly observed by all social sections of the province. Their first achievements in reconstruction were there to honour the occasion.

Revolutionary people's power has been set up in all hamlets and villages and the armed forces have been consolidated and further expanded at village, district and province levels. Tens of thousands of young members of regular units and of guerilla groups have undergone military training.

The local armed forces have increased by 354 per cent, the lowland guerillas by 876 per cent and the hamlet guerillas by 510 per cent. The number of hamlet and village cadres has also shown a sharp increase. Organizations of youth, women and old folks have taken definite shape from hamlet to province levels. Those revolutionary bodies have drawn the participation of more than 100,000 people into their activities. Marching in the van of the reconstruction effort was the Voluntary Shock Youth Brigade.

The local peasants have reclaimed thousands of hectares of ricefields to be put under the 3rd, 10th and 8th crops. The area under the 3rd month crop has doubled in 1973. In the first fortnight of April 1973, the Quang Tri people devoted 30,000 work days to hydraulic works. They have been also rearing more than 5,000 oxen and buffaloes and tens of thousands of fowls.

The Trade Service has opened 50 shops and rehabilitated more than a dozen markets. In pursuance of the NFL and PRG policy, the local revolutionary power has given encouragement and assistance to traders dealing with industrial and other products. Fishery has been restored and developed. Coastal villages supply the market with tens of tons of fish every month. Peasants are provided with adequate farming implements manufacturing units.

To help the various branches of activity of the province and maintain smooth communications between localities and people, the postal service has set up hundreds of miles of wire, installed hundreds of new telephones, handled tens of thousands of official messages, newspapers and letters. The Communication service has restored Dong Ha port, various roadways and riverways and repaired all rural roads linking villages and urban centres. It has transported thousands of tons of food, foodstuff and other commodities.

The Quang Tri revolutionary power has been paying special attention to the people's requirements in arts and culture and health, etc. To date, 77 out of 82 villages have opened their own information and cultural departments, 237 out of 375 hamlets have also had theirs, 4 districts have formed their dance and song ensembles, 5 districts have an information bulletin, 40 villages and hamlets have had each an amateur theatrical group. A provincial dance and song ensemble and 6 film projection teams have been taking turns in entertaining the population of the whole province. The province also has five transmission stations which cater for nearly all districts and villages. If on liberation day Quang Tri had only 1,500 pupils attending general education schools, the primary school population has now risen to 17,213, and the elementary school enrolment in the two district of Gio Linh and Trieu Phong, to 240. All villages have their primary school ; quite a number of hamlets and villages have their adult continuation classes. All districts boast continuation schools; and more than 100 students are attending teachers' schools with a two-year curriculum.

The medical network has gone down to all hamlets, the sanitary personnel is quite numerous and efficient. Last year, the province's medical school trained 542 new hospital attendants and nurses and more than 30 midwives. Two roving medical teams of the province has given inoculations to, examined or treated, 40,000 people.

A new era has been ushered in. Armed with new vigour, and resolved to preserve and consolidate peace and achieve national concord, the Quang Tri people are steadily marching forward and building their province into an increasingly prosperous one.

T.V.X.

LOC NINH youths build a new life

THESE last days, the town of Loc Ninh was blazing with banners and flowers as on festival days. Red and blue flags with a yellow star fluttered in front of every house and on every tree-top. Joy could be read on every face.

I felt most gratified to meet again old acquaintances who, when Loc Ninh was liberated nine months before, were young men and girls bewildered by the new life. Now they stood in the ranks of the revolution, proud of their soft canvas hats, AK rifles and rubber tyre sandals. I was all the more moved as I knew that many of them had become members of the People's Revolutionary Youth Organization. Nguyen, a former student of the Saigon Teachers' Training College, was a responsible cadre of the district youth brigade, and Dong, once a female taxi driver, served as secretary of the Town Liberation Youth Union.

Misses Hoa, Mao, Van My, Xuan... all of them had done their bits in the setting up of the local revolutionary power and the consolidation of the liberated zone. They had experienced most strenuous days with their friends in grass-roots shock youth organizations building huts, digging air raid shelters and clearing land.

Again and again the Americans had counter-attacked, with their Air Force, including B.52s, striking at the centre of Loc Ninh and its vicinity in an obvious attempt to wipe out the liberated zone. But far from breaking the will of the population, especially the youth, the ruins and deaths they inflicted only exacerbated their hatred and brought them closer in the defence of their new life.

"Thanks to the revolution, we've got acquainted, and become friends with one other. Before liberation no one thought of his neighbour's lot." This I often heard in my talks with the young people, whether or not members of the two local youth organizations. And I heard former "civil guards" of the Saigon regime sing in chorus or saw them dance with liberation fighters to welcome the first spring of peace. They also laboured together for the healing of war wounds and rebuilding of their town.

Ebullient Tu, a young member of the Loc Ninh People's Revolutionary Committee briefed my friend and me on the reconstruction plan of the district capital. To my great satisfaction, I saw that many a point of the plan was being realized.

Neon lights illuminated the roads leading from the Loc Ninh centre to the neighbouring hamlets. The Information Hall was opened to visitors late into the evening. A public address system kept the townspeople abreast with the latest news from the *Voice of Viet Nam* (Hanoi Radio) and what was going on their own district.

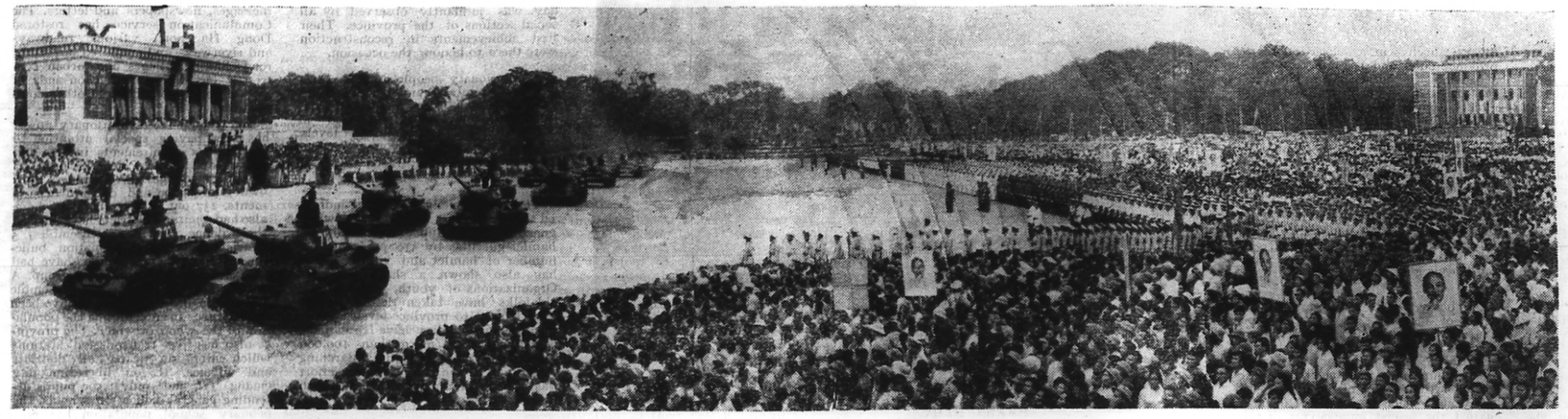
With power restored, saw-mills hummed again and their first products were used for the rehabilitation of the market place. So did blacksmith shops day and night turning out for implements.

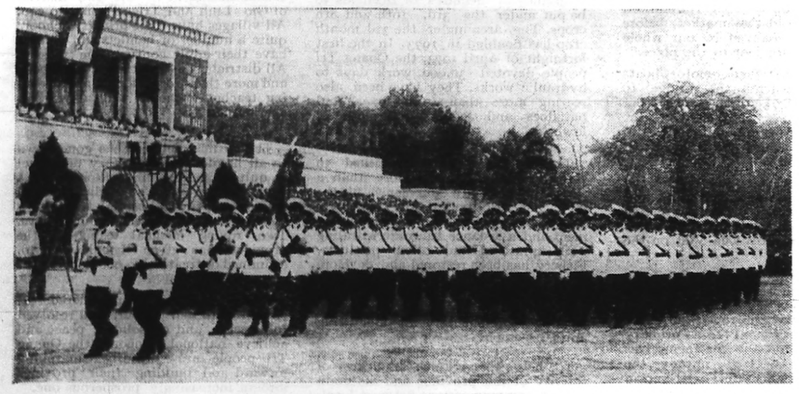
Braving arms were repairing school buildings and furniture. Many members of the People's Revolutionary Youth Organization and the Liberation Youth Union had taken an active part in educational activities. In pre-school classes in every town, hamlet, children intoned their lessons and their voices resounded far and wide. The authorities looked after them like gardeners do their blooming fruit trees.

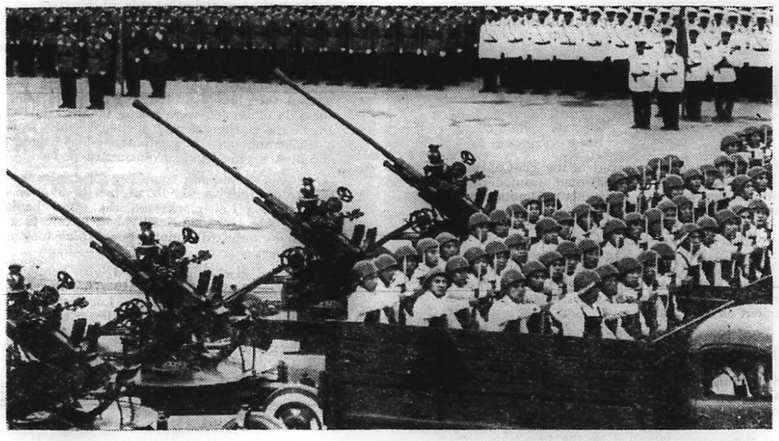
Loc Ninh is forging ahead day after day in the building of a new life, as a contribution to the common effort : forcing the Saigon administration to implement the Paris Agreement. In this battle the younger generations are playing an important role in the preservation of peace in their homeland.

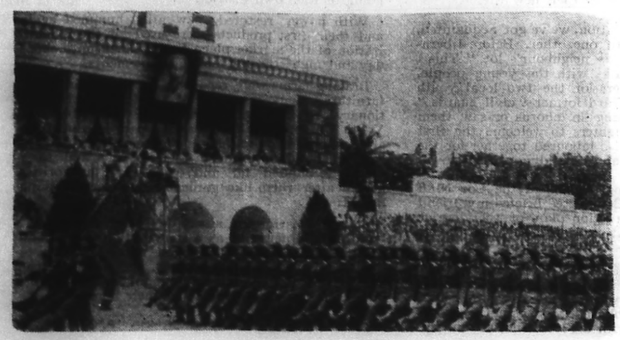
P. O. N.

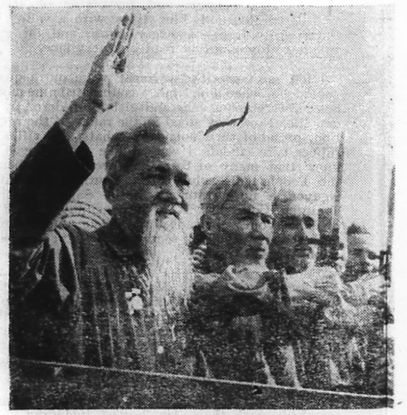
VICTORY DAY IN THE DRVN











— *Parade in Ba Dinh Square (above)*

— *Marine units : vigilant guardians of the DRVN waters (second left)*

— *Militia-women, the scourge of US pilots downed in North Viet Nam (third left)*

— *Signal Service girls, the pride and grace of the Army (fourth left)*

— *Self-defence forces : no small share in the 12-day "Dien Bien Phu" Air Victory which chalked 34 B.52s downed (second right)*

— *Hurrah ! 7 US aircraft downed by these white-haired militia*

Each of our victory is followed by a period of shining development

Following is a translation of excerpts from the speech delivered by Premier **PHAM VAN DONG** *at the grand meeting held on May 1st, to celebrate May Day and the Vietnamese nation's great victory :*

TODAY, May 1st, International Labour Day, our entire nation celebrates the great victory that has just been won in our long, arduous, and extremely glorious resistance war against US aggression, for national salvation. This great victory is creating favourable conditions and opening fine prospects for our entire people to carry on the struggle to maintain and consolidate peace to build socialism in the North, to complete independence and democracy in the South, to advance towards the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland, and to build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic, and prosperous Viet Nam, thereby making their most positive contribution to the revolutionary cause of the world's peoples.

On March 29 the last unit of the over-half-million-strong US expeditionary corps pulled out of the southern part of our country, thus ending the occupation of our territory by foreign troops. This is a historical landmark, the completion of the epic fight waged by so many generations of Vietnamese during the past century and more. Especially since the Party came into being, and President Ho Chi Minh raised the banner of Independence, this fight has written down brilliant pages in our history : it is the victory of the August Revolution which led to the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on the entire territory of the Vietnamese nation ; it is the Dien Bien Phu victory which marked the decline of French colonialism ; and the most outstanding of all is the resounding and epochal victory of our patriotic resistance war against US aggression, which constitutes a very important defeat inflicted on US neocolonialism.

Our people are legitimately proud of having through their valiant fight made very important contributions to the national liberation struggle of the world's peoples. The great victory of our nation has encouraged and is encouraging strongly the oppressed peoples to stand up in an earth-shaking struggle to defeat imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, to regain independence, freedom, the right to live, and the right to build their respective countries in accordance with their aspirations and will.

On this glorious day, our people cordially express their warmest fellings and their deepest gratitude to the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, to the international Communist and Workers' movement, to the working class, the labouring people, and the oppressed nations, to the progressive American people, to all men of conscience in the world, who wholeheartedly extended us their sympathy, support and assistance in our extremely hard and glorious fight of the recent past. We extend to our brothers and friends around the world our greetings of solidarity and victory in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

TODAY, over 90 days after the conclusion of the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam, the realities have shown that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam have always strictly respected and scrupulously implemented the Paris Agreement. In contrast, the United States and the Saigon administration have seriously and systematically violated the provisions of the Agreement they have signed : they have violated the ceasefire, sabotaged peace, violated the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights and the right to self-determination of the Vietnamese people in the South, violated the provisions concerning peace, national independence, democratic freedoms and national concord in South Viet Nam.

In Laos, in spite of the signing of the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord, the US imperialists have not stopped supporting and helping the right-wing party to seriously violate the Vientiane Agreement.

In Cambodia, the United States has stepped up the escalation of the war, launched savage attacks against the liberated zone, and plotted to dispatch Saigon and Bangkok mercenaries to invade that country. Today all men of conscience in the world have clearly realized that in spite of heavy defeats, the US imperialists have not given up their military involvement in the Indochinese countries.

With regard to South Viet Nam, they still nurture the design of turning it into a US new-type colony, thus perpetuating the partition of Viet Nam. They are still using the Saigon administration, a militarist and fascist clique, as an instrument for achieving this dark design. They are extending every support and assistance to their lackeys in impudently sabotaging very important provisions of the Paris Agreement, thereby running counter to the most earnest aspirations of the various strata of the South Vietnamese people. In this struggle, we will always stand shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal peoples of Laos and Cambodia. We will win because the peoples of the socialist countries and the world's peoples continue to extend our people their support and assistance in varied and valuable forms. At a moment when the development of the situation is so favourable to our people, the US imperialists and the Saigon administration are encountering countless difficulties, and seeing their forces dwindle and their position weaken. It is certain that our people, and the other peoples of Indochina as well, will win total victory.

Our people's struggle is still hard and complex, but we are full of confidence and optimism because this struggle is in keeping with the evolution of history and the trend of our time. The sacred Testament of our great President Ho Chi Minh is inspiring us, and urging us to do our best to preserve and consolidate lasting peace, to successfully build socialism in the North, to complete independence and democracy in the South, and to advance towards the peaceful reunification of our Fatherland.

On this victory day, we cordially express to our countrymen and fighters in the South, the Iron Fort of our Fatherland, our feelings of affection, pride and boundless confidence. Under the leadership of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the sole legitimate representative of the Vietnamese people in the South, the just, heroic struggle of our countrymen and fighters in the South is bound to end in glorious victory. As President HO CHI NINH has said, "Viet Nam is one, the Vietnamese nation is one. Rivers may dry up, mountains may erode, but this truth will never change."

In our nation's history, each victory over foreign invaders was always followed by a period of brilliant development. The victory of our resistance war against US aggression has brought about new favourable conditions for us to build our country, to build the socialist North, to strengthen in all fields the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the solid base area of the revolution in the whole country, an inviolable outpost of the socialist camp in Southeast Asia... We will always rely mainly on our own forces while striving for assistance in various fields from the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries. We are prepared to cooperate in the economic field with all countries desiring to cooperate with us on the basis of respect for each other's independence and mutual benefit.

The building of the socialist North and the strengthening of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam require that we give great care to the consolidation of our national defence and the strengthening of our armed forces, that we unceasingly enhance our vigilance, stand combat-ready and fight well, with a view to smashing all schemes and acts of encroachment on our socialist Fatherland. Once again, the Vietnamese people affirm that no brutal force, no perfidious scheme, no insolent threat can make us flinch and deviate from the path of struggle which is our path to victory.

Religious followers resist Thieu's fascist moves

HIGH and dry as they have never been, the Nguyen Van Thieu administration have been cracking down more and more furiously on religious communities in flagrant violation of the Paris Agreement. But they have met with fierce resistance from Catholics, Caodaists, Hoahaoists and Buddhists.

In My Tho city, Buddhists and Caodaists showed pictures of pagodas, temples and dwellings of their co-believers wrecked by Saigon troops since the cease-fire came into effect to members of Parliament as well as the International Commission. They also brought to them the bodies of victims of Saigon soldiery. In face of such undeniable evidence, the mayor of My Tho had to "admit violations of the Paris accord."

In the first three days of March, together with 200 Saigon troops and war invalids, Buddhists and Caodaists of Cambodian descent assembled in a temple at Vam Tra Vinh to welcome peace. They denounced Thieu's agents breaking of the cease-fire, sabotage of national reconciliation and concord, encroaching operations against the liberated zone, and drastic measures to prevent "refugees" from leaving "resettlement centres" for livelihood earning or worshipping purposes. After the meeting, 3,000 faithful and monks and nuns of Khmer and Vietnamese extractions of 129 pagodas in Tra Vinh province held a requiem for casualties of US-Thieu bombs and shells and all those who had sacrificed their lives for the Fatherland. Bells and drums resounded far and wide. The mass over, the gatherers marched past 39 garrisons and posts, calling on their relatives among the soldiers to return to their families and religious communities.

The Cao Dai population in My Tho, Binh Long, Ca Mau and in the periphery of Ba Ria provincial capital have been stubbornly prevailing province chief, to respect democratic liberties, especially the liberty of movement, and end the killings. In Tay Ninh they have launched series of drives to compel Saigon troops to abide by the cease-fire and stop their bombings and shellings which hinder farming. On March 28, after levelling houses with tanks and flame-throwers in Phu Khuong district the raiders were encircled by local people who finally forced them out. In the military sector of Go Quao, Rach Gia province, 200 Buddhist monks and followers, armed with sticks and bamboo spears, fought against mercenaries irrupting into Thu Ho pagoda to impress their coreligionists. Alerted by drum beatings and calls for help through megaphones, well over a thousand inhabitants and "civil guards" in the vicinity rushed to the site and surrounded the thugs. The determination of the people got the better of the intruders who had to decamp, leaving behind their captives.

In Ben Tre city hundreds of Caodaists gathered in front of the province chief's office. Politely but firmly they insisted that the latter pay compensation to families with members killed or wounded by ruffians in his payroll and put an end to brutalities against the population. Their request was complied with.

The religious communities have also been at war with central organs of the Thieu administration as well. In early April the convention held by the Chuong provincial branch of the Buddhist Church sent a delegation to the province chief and ask him to forward a petition to Nguyen Vau Thieu for the release of arbitrarily arrested monks, nuns and followers of the Phuoc Long pagoda. The Saigon authorities had to meet their demand. Also in April, hundreds of Hoahaoists and Catholics in An Giang and Ca Mau exposed government officials' attempts to force them into Thieu's Democratic Party. Priests were selected to bring petitions to the province chiefs of An Giang and Ca Mau and to Thieu himself, for a halt to arbitrary arrests and drafting believers into the army and "civil guards" units.

Obviously, with an ever-deeper sense of national reconciliation and concord advocated by the NFL and the PRG, members of religious communities in the Saigon-controlled zone are bringing into play their militant spirit for the defence of the freedom of belief and other democratic liberties against the fascist manoeuvres of the Thieu administration.

Here and There

WATERGATE OR WATERLOO

After many years of relative calm, an uproar has flared up again in the US and world press about the Watergate affair which involves a number of big shots of the Nixon administration. In the last week of April and first week of May, western opinion was strongly stirred by disclosures of the accused to court into flaying the scandal as "a catastrophe," an "infamy," "the meanest political action," "the worst internal crisis," "the biggest political corruption case in a century"... Watergate, name of the hotel in Washington where the Democratic Party leadership has accommodated its seat, suddenly became ominously famous and reminiscent of a place where Napoleon met with his irremediable doom.

The seven accused, found guilty to the break and entry for political espionage charge have been sentenced to some or some scores of years in prison. But the proceedings still continue. For, soon after the judgement, as the Democratic Party was exposing its rival's pressure on the persons concerned to plead guilty and put a halt to the efforts to find the principal and tone down the scandal, some of the convicted and their relatives abruptly openly objected to their position as scapegoats and to the immunity of their copartners. James McCord, former head of the Security Committee of the "Committee for the Re-election of the President" has filed a suit against the latter for 1.5 million dollars damages, on the ground that it was at its instigation that he had been involved in the affair. Other names have been cited : Gordon Liddy, Stal... all more or less close aides to Nixon. The wife of another accused also revealed that if the culprits accepted their penaties no deposition they would benefit from an annesty after a year in jail.

THE WHITE HOUSE ALL BLACKENED

Thus, little by little, the Court has succeeded in unravelling the skein and public feeling has been running high against the involvement of not only dubious characters but also and particularly of high-ranking officials whose rule of conduct in foreign and home politics seems to be the jungle law. The White House tried till the last minute to keep clear from the dirty business and Mr Nixon even lectured the press for having raised too much ado about it. But under the impact of public pressure, on April 30 he had to go on the TV with a reluctant and tearful mea culpa.

Will his tears mollify the American people and convince them of his candid ignorance of the whole thing ? There is grave doubt about it, as evidenced by the results of various opinion polls. That of Aprill 22 believed showed that 4 out of 10 Americans interviewed that their president was in the know. Another undertaken on April 27 established that 63% thought the White House untruthful and dishonest, and 53% withdrew their trust in Nixon. The returns of the May 2 sampling indicated that 50% held that he had a hand in the White House moves to cover up the Watergate affair, 40% opined that he had been aware of its plans, 30% took the view that if he had one way or another okayed them, he should be impeached and condemned by the law and 11% called for stern measures against him.

Reuter described the scandal as the gravest crisis in Nixon's political career, the *Washington Post* held that it jeopardized the President's role as leader of the country. And the *Washington Star* which had supported him so far suggested that he should resign too. "The President has not told the truth, commented Ralph Nader, I think he cannot hush it up indefinitely and keep his office indefinitely" (*UPI*, May 2, 1973).

MORE COMES TO LIGHT EACH DAY

Then Haldeman and Elichman, two Nixonian closest aids who had quitted were summoned to an interrogation on their implication in the Watergate affair (*UPI*, May 3). One of their lawyers, Wilson, according to *Time*, had seen Nixon many times and had been charged by them to tell him that they would not leave the White House in such a simple manner and that when cornered they would testify that Mr Nixon himself had participated in the attempts to suppress the scandal.

John Dean, former legal advisor to the President and Magrowze ex-deputy chairman of the Committee for the Re-election of the President have intimated that in return for their clearance, they will tell everything they know about the said affair and moves.

And Martha Mitchell, wife of John Mitchell, ex-attorney general and ex-chairman of the abovementioned Committee, who had denounced many Republican personalities' shady intrigues and threatened her husband with divorce if he did not give up his job has also made public the White House four-year-long bullying her into silence (*AFP*, May 4, 1973).

So more comes to light each day. US justice will have its hands full, for Watergate will certainly lead it further in the black labyrinth of the White House.

HUONG NAM

IN BRIEF

+ The Permanent Secretariat of the Tri-Continental Organization, the International Confederation of Arab Unions and the Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Lawyers' Association expressed full support for the April 1, 1973 statement of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the March 30, 1973 statement of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and strongly scored US and Saigon serious and systematic violations of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam.

+ The April 10, 1973 statement of the Arab Lawyers' Association urged US-Saigon full respect for the democratic liberties of the South Vietnamese people, specially the freedom of movement and freedom to return to one's native place to earn one's living, all ending of encroaching operations against the areas controlled by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, and of all police operations against the people in the areas under Saigon control, and prompt release of all civilians detained in Saigon prisons.

+ The West German "Committee to Raise Money for Hanoi and SVN Liberation Film Studios" organized an exhibition at the 19th International Short Film Festival held in Oberhausen (West Germany) from April 9 to 14,1973. It called on all West German and other countries' film producers to step up support to their Vietnamese counterparts.

The Festival awarded a 2,000-mark news reels prize to South Viet Nam *Giai Phong* films. On April 12, 1973, the West German, Dutch and Swedish Support Viet Nam Cinematography Committees at the Festival presented the *Giai Phong* Film Studio a complete modern camera worth 30,000 West German marks.

+ In the past few days, dozens of mass organizations in Sweden including trade unions, youth and student unions, NFL groups, the press circles and international organizations staged a series of demonstrations, and meetings and published statements or sent petitions to the Swedish government and the US Embassy in Stockholm, demanding that the US government and the Saigon administration seriously respect and implement the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, that the US withdraw from South Viet Nam all its troops, including military advisors and personnel in civilian dress that the Saigon administration set free at once the political prisoners still detained in the prisons in South Viet Nam.

GENERAL VO NGUYEN GIAP'S ORDER OF THE DAY

Follow excerpts from the Order of the Day read out by General Vo Nguyen Giap, Commander-in-Chief of the Viet Nam People's Armed Forces, at the grand May Day meeting in Hanoi :

ON the occasion of International Labour Day, our entire armed forces together with our entire people greet with boundless enthusiasm the great victory of the resistance war against US aggression, for national salvation, the most glorious resistance war against foreign aggression in the thousands-of-years-old history of our nation's persistent and indomitable struggle for independence and freedom.

The biggest war of aggression waged by the US imperialists since World War Two has been defeated by the Vietnamese people. The biggest aggressor army that has ever come to our country, the brutal army of the strongest imperialist country equipped with the most modern weapons has, at last, suffered big defeat and has been forced to pull out.

Under the banner of the glorious Viet Nam Workers' Party and the great President Ho Chi Minh, through thirty years of struggle with extreme valiancy, our entire armed forces together with our entire people victoriously waged the August 1945 General Insurrection, defeated the Japanese fascists, and then successfully conducted two resistance wars, defeating two big imperialists—the French and the US. For the first time after more than a century of struggle for national liberation, the victory of the resistance war against US aggression, for national salvation put an end to the occupation by the foreign aggressor armies in our beloved Fatherland. That is a great event in the common struggle of the world's people for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The victory of the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, is a brilliant victory of the correct and creative political and military line of our Party, of the revolutionary heroism of our people and army, and of the strength of international support and solidarity. That is an epoch-making victory of a small nation, which, highly determined to fight for independence and freedom and to sacrifice all rather than be enslaved, has defeated the aggressive war of a big imperialist power aimed at enslaving other nations by means of a colossal force of arms. That is a glorious victory of the people's war in Viet Nam in the Ho Chi Minh era, of the tradition of solidarity and courageous and intelligent fight of the Vietnamese military science and art over the military science and art of imperialism.

On the occasion of this historic day, our entire army and people pay our deepest homage to the tremendous services rendered by our venerated and beloved Uncle Ho, the teacher of the Vietnamese revolution, the great leader of our Party and our nation, and the dear father of our people's armed forces. President Ho will live for ever in our revolutionary cause.

Our Fatherland is for ever grateful to the great services rendered by the fallen heroes and our other comrades and countrymen in both the South and the North, who have fought with self-abnegation for the country and the people. The spirit of those who have laid their lives for the country is immortal.

We warmly welcome the brotherly South Viet Nam Liberation Armed Forces, which through decades of fighting in the conditions of extreme difficulties and hardships have grown up quickly, fought heroically and won repeated victories, worthy of an army characterized by "boundless loyalty, marvellous valiancy and glorious victory." Under the banner of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the only authentic representative of our people in the South, all the officers and combatants of the heroic South Viet Nam Liberation Armed Forces on all the battlefronts from Quang Tri-Thua Thien and the High Plateaux to the Fifth Interzone and Nam Bo have overcome enormous trials and together with the seventeen million of our compatriots in South Viet Nam — the Iron Fort of the Fatherland — defeated one after another all the strategies of the US imperialists, recorded great exploits and written glorious pages in our national history.

We warmly welcome our compatriots throughout the country and express our sincere and profound gratitude to all those who have wholeheartedly loved and looked after the armymen, and together with the army fought against the aggressors to save the country, who have unceasingly encouraged and assisted the army to march forward and to wipe out the enemy and gain big exploits.

We warmly welcome the great victory of the heroic Lao Liberation Army and people.

We warmly welcome the great victory of the heroic Cambodian Liberation Armed Forces and people.

The militant solidarity among the armed forces and peoples of the three brotherly Indochinese countries will certainly flourish and develop with every passing day.

We warmly welcome the great achievements of the armed forces and peoples of the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries, and express our sincere and profound gratitude for the vigorous sympathy and support and the great assistance given us by the socialist countries and the whole progressive mankind.

More than three months have passed since the signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam. The last soldier of the US expeditionary army has withdrawn from our country. Nevertheless, the US imperialists still nurture their dark design of carrying on the so-called "Nixon doctrine," and of using the Saigon administration as a tool to maintain neocolonialism in South Viet Nam and perpetuate the partition of our country. The US government and the Saigon administration are violating seriously and systematically the provisions of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam. Therefore in the South, shooting has not stopped, and the blood of our countrymen is still shedding. Of late, the US groundlessly suspended the removal of mines in the territorial waters, harbours and waterways of our country, and resumed their acts of war by sending reconnaissance planes to encroach upon the airspace of the DRVN.

In Laos, the US imperialists have continued bombing the liberated areas. In Cambodia, they have feverishly intensified their war of aggression.

We energetically condemn these acts of war prosecution and of sabotage against the Agreement and peace by the US and the stooge administrations.

We want to make clear once again that no aggressive designs, no war manoeuvres and threat, by words or by deeds, can shake the determination of our people to enhance unity and struggle resolutely for the independence and peace of the Fatherland.

Over the past decades, the aggressor armies of three imperialist powers including US imperialism, have failed one after another and had to quit our country. Now, in the new situation when the balance of forces in Viet Nam, Indochina and the world as a whole has changed and are changing in favour of the revolution, it is certain that no clique of traitors and no reactionary and bellicose forces can stand in the way of our people in the struggle to implement the Agreement, consolidate peace, build socialism in the North and complete independence and democracy in the whole country and ultimately to peacefully reunify the Fatherland.

In face of the new situation, in response to the Appeal of the Central Committee of the Party and the Government, let us :

1. See clearly the situation, our revolutionary task in the new stage and the glorious function of the people's armed forces, always sharpen our vigilance and fighting will, firmly struggle to preserve peace stand ready to smash all provocative and sabotage schemes and all acts of war against the North of our country, fulfil our role as the firm support for the entire people's struggle for peace, independence, democracy and national concord and for the ultimate peaceful reunification of our Fatherland.

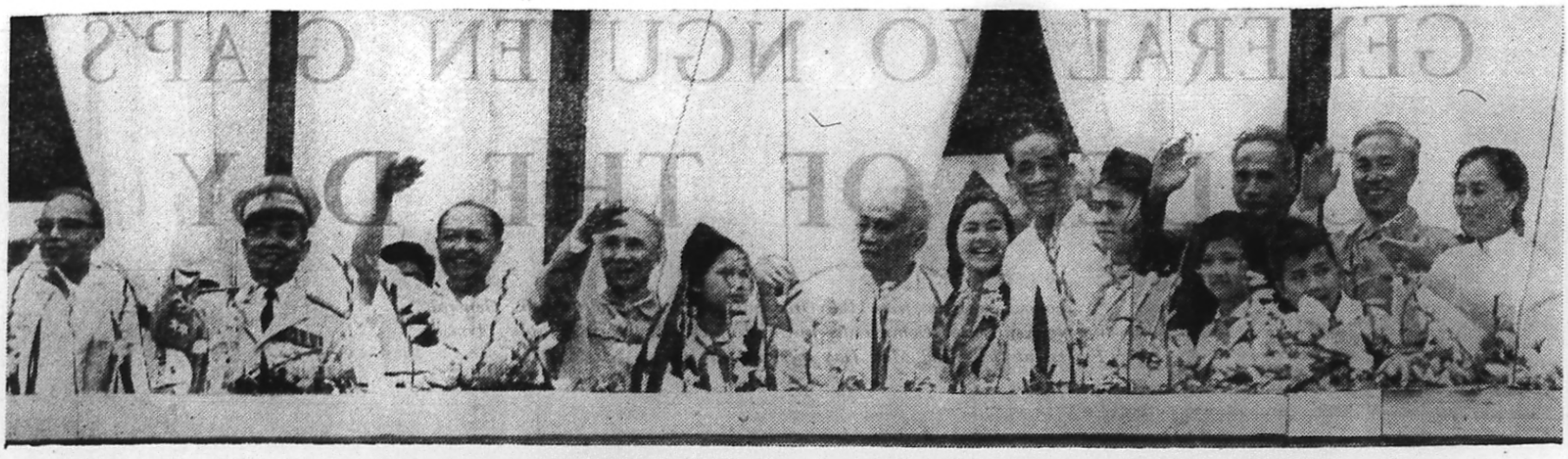
2. Actively and urgently build the people's armed forces to make it stronger with each passing day, build a regular and modern-army, a strong and widespread militia and home guard force, and an ever steadier and stronger all-people national defence.

Let all officers and combatants uphold their patriotism and their love for socialism, master the advanced military science and technique, observe strict discipline, improve their combat skill to firmly defend the gains of the revolution, defend the independence of the Fatherland and fulfil all tasks entrusted by the Party, the State and people.

3. Actively participate in the economic rehabilitation, the healing of the wounds of war and the building of socialism in order to make the North stronger both in economy and national defence.

On this great festival day, looking back at the long fight and glorious victory of our nation, we are all the more confident in the brilliant future of our nation and in the invincible force of our people and army. Our entire people's just struggle to build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam surely will win glorious victory.

FOREIGN MINISTER NGUYEN THI BINH IN THE DRVN



Mme Nguyen Thi Binh with the DRVN leaders at the May Day Grand Meeting in Ba Dinh Square

President Ton Duc Thang of the DRVN and Mr Truong Chinh, President of the DRVN National Assembly conferred cordially with Mme Nguyen Thi Binh

After fulfilling her mission, the PRG Foreign Minister, Member of the NFL Central Committee and Chief of the PRG Delegation to the Paris Conference, made a stop-over in Hanoi before returning to the RSVN.

She was warmly and cordially received by the DRVN leaders in the jubilant atmosphere of Victory Day.

On April 29, Mme Nguyen Thi Binh was received by Mr Le Duan, First Secretary of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee

Mme Nguyen Thi Binh attending the inauguration of the exhibition **"A few images of the 1972 victories"**

SOUTH VIET NAM — CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION